Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 167603 ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:JGUNDERSEN APPROVED BY:S/S-0:AOTTOA DESIRED DIST: STR FOR STRAUSS

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

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EXDIS USMTN BONN FOR AMBASSADOR WOLFF

FOLLOWING REPEAT BRUSSELS 8254 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ALL EC CAPITALS USMISSION GENEVA DATED JUL 18:

QTE: CONFIDENTIAL BRUSSELS 08254

EXDIS

USEEC

DEPT PASS STR FOR AMBASSADOR STRAUSS, GENEVA FOR MTN, AND BONN PASS ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR WOLFF

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: ETRD. EEC

SUBJECT: DENMAN ON TIDEWATER MTN TALKS

1. SIR ROY DENMAN, COMMISSION DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR EXTERNAL RELATIONS, LUNCHED WITH ME ALONE JULY 18. HE GAVE ME HIS ACCOUNT OF SENIOR STAFF DISCUSSIONS JULY 15-16 AT CONFIDENTIAL

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TIDEWATER INN. RECIPIENTS ARE CAUTIONED THAT THIS IS DENMAN'S ACCOUNT SENT FOR BACKGROUND INFO ONLY; IT SHOULD NOT BE ATTRIBUTED. COMMISSION WILL PROVIDE ITS VERSION DIRECTLY TO MEMBER STATES AND US VIEW OF WHAT HAPPENED WILL COME BY CABLE FROM WASHINGTON AND FROM AMBASSADOR WOLFF WHO WILL BE TALKING WITH SOME OF MEMBER STATES.

- 2. DENMAN SAID SPIRIT OF MEETINGS COULDN'T HAVE BEEN BETTER. BOTH SIDES PUT FORWARD THEIR POSITIONS, EXPLAINED REASONS FOR THEIR POSITIONS, AND THEN EXAMINED TOGETHER WHAT BOTH COULD DO TO MOVE MTN TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION
- 3. DENMAN SAID AGREEMENT ON HAVING EVERYTHING ON TABLE BY JANUARY 15, 1978, WAS REAFFIRMED. IN ADDITION IT WAS AGREED THAT BY NOVEMBER 1 AGRICULTURE WOULD BE ON TABLE. OTHER INTERIM TARGET DATES CONTEMPLATED BY ORIGINAL STRAUSS PROPOSAL HAD BEEN ABANDONED AND HE HOPED IDEA OF FOUR SUB-PHASE TIMETABLE WAS DEAD. HOWEVER, IT HAD BEEN AGREED THAT ALL MTN SUBGROUPS SHOULD HOLD INTENSIVE "VIRTUALLY NON-STOP" MEETINGS IN SEPTEMBER IN GENEVA. HE SUGGESTED THAT WOLFF BRING US TEAM TO EUROPE FOR REPLAY OF TIDEWATER MEETING SOMETIME IN OCTOBER TO TAKE STOCK OF PROGRESS MADE AND REMAINING PROBLEMS TO BE RESOLVED.
- 4. DENMAN SAID PROCEDURAL ARGUMENTS OVER AGRICULTURE WERE BEHIND US AND HE HOPED THAT ON BASIS US-COMMISSION AGREEMENT DESIRED RESULTS WOULD BE ACHIEVED IN GROUP AGRICULTURE THIS WEEK. ON SUBSTANCE OF AGRICULTURE, HE SAID GUNDELACH'S WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE LIMITS ON EC RESTITUTION PAYMENTS HAD BEEN CRUCIAL COMMISSION CONTRIBUTION TO BREAKTHROUGH. HE ADDED HE THOUGHT GUNDELACH WAS OUT IN FRONT OF HIS TROOPS AND THERE MIGHT BE SUBSEQUENT PROBLEMS. CONFIDENTIAL

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COMMISSIONERS HAFERKAMP, GUNDELACH AND DAVIGNON WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE DIRECTORS GENERAL WOULD REVIEW SITUATION JULY 20 AND THIS WOULD PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY TO DETERMINE WHETHER RABOT WAS REALLY ON BOARD.

- 5. REGARDING NTB CODES, DENMAN THOUGHT STANDARDS TEXT COULD BE PUT FORWARD FOR NEGOTIATION FAIRLY PROMPTLY, THAT GOVERNMENT PROCUREMENT WOULD BE READY BY END OCTOBER AND THAT IT CRITICAL THAT COMMISSION PUSH WITH MEMBER STATES TO GET DRAFT VALUATION CODE TABLED. IN ADDITION, HE THOUGHT SOME AMENDMENTS TO KENNEDY ROUND ANTI-DUMPING CODE MIGHT FLOW FROM WORK ON SUBSIDY COUNTERVAIL PROBLEM.
- 6. REGARDING SUBSIDY COUNTERVAIL ISSUES, DENMAN SAID US WOULD NO LONGER PURSUE SO-CALLED RED LIGHT-AMBER LIGHT-GREEN LIGHT APPROACH BUT RATHER COMMISSION AND US WOULD FIND WAY TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS PIECEMEAL WITH THE CONCESSIONS MADE HIDDEN IN LARGE PACKAGE. IF I UNDERSTOOD HIM CORRECTLY, THERE WOULD BE NO SUBSIDY COUNTERVAL CODE WHICH WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO SELL TO NINE, RATHER THE PARTS LIKE GUNDELACH'S LIMITS ON AGRICULTURAL SUBSIDIES, SOME RULES AMPLIFYING ARTICLE XVI ON INDUSTRIAL SUBSIDIES, AND US

ACCEPTANCE OF INJURY RULE FOR MOST COUNTERVAILING ACTIONS COULD BE SEPARATE PIECES OF FINAL DEAL.

- 7. DENMAN THOUGHT THERE MIGHT ALSO BE SOMETHING ON SAFE-GUARDS BUT HE SHOWED LITTLE ENTHUSIASM AND SAID THAT WHILE FRENCH AND BRITISH WANTED POSSIBILITY OF SELECTIVE APPLICATION OF ARTICLE XIX, GERMANS FOR PHILOSOPHIC REASONS WERE OPPOSED AND ITALIANS ALSO OPPOSED SINCE THEY WERE CONCERNED SELECTIVE SAFEGUARDS MIGHT BE APPLIED TO THEM. IF THIS WERE NOT ENOUGH, HE FEARED THAT LDC PRICE FOR SELECTIVITY ON SAFEGUARDS IN TERMS OF OVER-ALL GATT SURVEILLANCE WOULD BE TOO HIGH TO MAKE DEAL ATTRACTIVE.
- 8. DENMAN SAID MAJOR US-COMMISSION DIFFERENCE AT THIS CONFIDENTIAL.

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POINT WAS OVER TARIFF QUESTION. "REALISTICALLY" COMMISSION HAD CONCLUDED THAT OVER-ALL CUT IN 20-25 PERCENT RANGE WITH "NO EXCEPTIONS" WAS BEST WAY TO PROCEED. HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT A FINAL 20 PERCENT CUT ON AVERAGE TAKING INTO ACCOUN

XCAOQNNITVOALS FROM OFFERS TO ACHIEVE BALANCE AT END OF NEGOTIATION WAS REASONABLE OBJECTIVE. US CLEARLY WANTED MORE AND FOR LEGAL AND OTHER REASONS (HE MENTIONED TEXTILES) COULD NOT AGREE TO A NO EXCEPTION RULE. HE WONDERED ALOUD IF WAY OUT OF THIS IMPASSE MIGHT NOT BE TO FINESSE NEED FOR AGREEMENT ON TARIFF FORMULA, LEAVING EACH PARTY TO MAKE ITS OFFERS AND EXCEPTIONS ACCORDING TO ITS OWN ANALYSIS AND THEN NEGOTIATING TO FINAL BALANCE. HE SAID HE HAD TOLD PRIME MINISTER HEATH IN EARLY '70'S THAT NEXT MTN NEGOTIATION MIGHT SEE MAJOR REVERSION TO ITEM BY ITEM APPROACH BUT HE STILL HOPED MAJOR PARTICIPANTS WOULD FOLLOW LINEAR APPROACH IN CONSTRUCTING THEIR OFFERS. ON THIS POINT. I SAID TO HIM I THOUGHT HE WAS BEING SHORT-SIGHTED SINCE IT SEEMED TO ME PERSONALLY THAT NOT ONLY WOULD ITEM BY ITEM SEARCH FOR BALANCE BE INCREDIBLY COMPLI-CATED BUT THAT COMMUNITY UNDER IMPACT OF PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES FROM WITHIN WOULD MISS OPPORTUNITY TO BRING US TO MAKE MAXIMUM USE OF TARIFF NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY FROM CONGRESS FOR WHICH ADMINISTRATION HAD PAID HIGH PRICE. EVEN WORSE, I ASSERTED, WOULD BE IMPACT OF MINIMUM USE EXISTING AUTHORITY ON POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE US ADMIN-ISTRATIONS TO OBTAIN NEW NEGOTIATION AUTHORITY IN FUTURE. IT SEEMED TO ME THAT HIS "REALISTIC" APPROACH MIGHT MEAN. IF PURSUED, THAT WE HAD COME TO END OF POST-WORLD WAR II MOVEMENT FOR TARIFF REDUCTIONS. HE SAID HE SAW THE POINT BUT....

9. AS FOR FUTURE PROBLEMS, DENMAN SAID IT WOULD NOT BE CONFIDENTIAL

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SIMPLE TO OBTAIN MULTILATERAL AGREEMENT TO IDEAS US AND COMMISSION WERE JOINTLY DEVELOPING. HE THOUGHT CANADIANS IN PARTICULAR WOULD BE DIFFICULT AND HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT JAPAN BUT NOTED WITH APPROVAL THAT STRAUSS AND WOLFF PLANNED WORK ON JAPANESE IN EARLY SEPTEMBER.

10. TO MAKE JANUARY 15 DEADLINE, DENMAN SAID PACE OF GENE-VA NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE MARKEDLY STEPPED UP AND NEW MECHANISMS FOUND FOR PROMOTING AGREEMENTS. ONE SUCH MECHANISM WOULD BE LUNCHES ORGANIZED JOINTLY BY US-EC REPS WITH OTHER KEY DELEGATIONS. THIS WAS ONLY WAY TO AVOID HOPELESS ARGUMENTS ABOUT WHO PARTICIPATED IN MEETINGS. IN ADDITION, A WYNDAM WHITE TYPE WAS NEEDED TO DRIVE ALL CONCERNED TO AGREEMENTS BY PROPOSING AT THE RIGHT TIME THE KINDS OF CONCESSIONS WHICH EACH PARTY SHOULD MAKE TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS. OLIVIER LONG JUST DID NOT HAVE THIS TAL-ENT AND HE WONDERED IF PERHAPS JOLLES COULD BE PERSUADED TO UNDERTAKE SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT. WHAT WAS NEEDED, HE SAID, WAS A NEUTRAL FORCE TO PROD NEGOTIATORS INTO AGREEMENT. WE TALKED ABOUT HOW SUCH CONCEPT COULD BE SOLD TO LONG AND ALSO ABOUT WHETHER OTHER FORMULAE MIGHT BE FOUND IF JOLLES IDEA DID NOT FLY FOR ONE REASON OR ANOTHER.

- 11. INCIDENTALLY, DENMAN HAS TELEPHONED LONG AND FILLED HIM IN IN GENERAL ON TIDEWATER TALKS, NOT INCLUDING IDEA OF NEUTRAL PROD, BUT INCLUDING SOMETHING RE NEED FOR STEPPED-UP INFORMAL STEERING MECHANISM. OBVIOUSLY CULBERT SHOULD SEE LONG AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH OUR OBSERVATIONS ON SITUATION.
- 12. DENMAN SAID HE WAS IN TOUCH BY PHONE WITH MEMBER STATES ENDEAVORING TO PREPARE FAIRLY CRUCIAL 113 COMMITTEE MEETING TO BE HELD HERE JULY 22. AT THAT TIME COMMISSION WOULD FLOAT ITS LIMITED CUT-NO EXCEPTIONS IDEA WHICH AS OF NOW DOES NOT HAVE MEMBER STATE BLESSING.

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13. DENMAN EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN THAT WOLFF VISIT TO CERTAIN EC CAPITALS MIGHT COMPLICATE COMMISSION'S EFFORT TO OBTAIN MS BLESSING FOR JAN 15 DEADLINE. WE AGREED DANGER EXISTED AND THAT BEST WAY TO MINIMIZE RISKS WAS FOR WOLFF TO TALK IN GENERAL TERMS, AVOIDING DETAILS ABOUT STRAUSS-COMMISSION AND TIDEWATER TALKS.

14. FINALLY, DENMAN SAID HE DID NOT MEAN REMARK TO BE TAKEN IN CRITICAL SENSE BUT HE HOPED THAT NEXT TIME STRAUSS CAME TO BRUSSELS THERE WOULD BE MORE ADEQUATE STAFF LEVEL PREPARATION. HINTON UNQTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z

Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am Channel Indicators: n/a

Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED

Concepts: MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, ORGANIZATION & MANAGEMENT, REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS

Control Number: n/a

Copy: SINGLE Sent Date: 19-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 22 May 2009 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE167603
Document Source: Concept Co

Document Unique ID: 00 Drafter: O:JGUNDERSEN

Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS Errors: N/A

Expiration:

Film Number: D770267-1163

Format: TEL From: STATE **Handling Restrictions:**

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770742/aaaabkej.tel

Line Count: 229 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation History: Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM

Message ID: 695e9a67-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc Office: ORIGIN SS

Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS

Reference: n/a Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags: Review Date: 10-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am

Review Event: Review Exemptions: n/a **Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a

Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 1817092 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: DENMAN ON TIDEWATER MTN TALKS TAGS: ETRD, BE, US, EEC, (DENMAN, ROY)
To: BONN GENEVA MULTIPLE

Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/695e9a67-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009

Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009